Tells the Facts and Names the Names

CounterPunch

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The CIA's Latest Coup

It's a neat trick to get great coverage for a report you haven't published and no journalist has actually seen. Of course, you need accomplices. The CIA has once again used its friends in the press to issue a self-serving news release on its internal investigation of charges that the Agency had connived at Contra drug smuggling into Los Angeles in the early 1980s.

In this particular piece of news management the CIA out did itself. In the past it has relied on its journalistic allies to put the best face on probes that, albeit heavily censored, displayed the Agency in an unpleasing light. But in late December, the CIA elicited friendly coverage even though the report by the CIA's own Inspector General remains unpublished and under heavy security wraps.

It will be recalled that back in August of 1996 the *San Jose Mercury News* ran a sensational three-part series by Gary Webb, disclosing widespread cocaine dealings of two Nicaraguan Contra supporters in California in the early 1980s. Webb's exhaustively documented charges indicated that the CIA had been aware of the criminal activities of prominent Contra organizers in the US, and had protected them as they smuggled tons of cheap cocaine into the country. Much of the cargo ended up as crack sold in Los Angeles, with a substantial portion of the profits being filtered back to the Contras, who had had their official funding cut by order of the Congress.

Webb's series alleged that the import of low-cost cocaine into south-central Los Angeles helped spark a huge crack epidemic. The *San Jose Mercury News*' series, up on its web-site, was quickly seized upon by black radio stations across the country and by the black congressional caucus. When the story could no longer be ignored by the mainstream press, Webb came under savage attack in the *Washington Post, New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*. Reporters such as the *Post*'s Walter Pincus and the *New York Times*' Tim Golden, (the *LA Times* opened a Gary Webb hit squad, led by Doyle McManus) flailed away at Webb for months, setting up straw men and then dutifully knocking them down without addressing Webb's highly specific reporting, which included court transcripts, extensive interviews with named sources and DEA records.

By May of 1997, the *Mercury News,* owned by Knight-Ridder, buckled under the pressure and began to withdraw support from its own reporter. Webb, who was completing a follow-up series, saw his new stories suppressed and then was given progressively more insulting assignments, being shifted from Sacramento to the tiny Cupertino bureau two hours drive from his home. The campaign against him waged in particular by the *New York Times* in disgraceful smears, remained unrelenting. In this manner the CIA and the major newspapers conducted a highly successful search-and-destroy operation, aimed at ending Webb's career and burying his findings forever.

Entirely lost amid the uproar was the fact that there has been bountiful documentation down the years—in such authoritative investigations as Alfred McCoy's *Politics of Heroin*—of the CIA's complicity since its founding moment in the late 1940s with drug smugglers.

Amid the onslaught on Webb, the CIA director John Deutch announced that the Agency's Inspector General, Frederick Hitz, was launching "the most comprehensive analysis ever done" of CIA activities in this sphere. The ambit of the

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Our Little Secret

Sonnenfeld's Fall

All through the Teamsters' strike against UPS last fall journalists reached eagerly for quotes from Jeffrey Sonnenfeld, a professor then running the Center for Leadership and Career Studies at Emory University. Sonnenfeld duly supplied sound-bites sharply disobliging to Ron Carey and the Teamsters, and many newspapers printed them, even while noting that Sonnenfeld's Center received large subventions from UPS.

Here at **CounterPunch** we're gratified to hear that Sonnenfeld has fallen on evil days. On Thanksgiving eve, irked at being passed over as dean of Emory's Business School, Sonnenfeld attacked the door of the office suite of outgoing Business School dean Ronald Frank, kicking it savagely. A security camera recorded the onslaught. Dean Frank lost no time in firing Sonnenfeld and informing Sonnenfeld's next prospective employer, Georgia Institute of Technology, which promptly told Sonnenfeld the position as dean was no longer available. The *Wall Street Journal* quotes the normally voluble prof as saying, "There are many complex and deeply personal reasons for these developments in my career and there is nothing that can be gained from further public comment."

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Ted, Jane, Tim and Eileen

Ted Turner and Jane Fonda couldn't keep their mouths shut. They just had to tell everyone at a New York City party about their latest acquisition: Tim Wirth. Turner tapped Wirth to head his new multi-billion dollar UN-connected foundation. But the deal was supposed to be kept under wraps until January, because Wirth was slated to led the US delegation at the Kyoto summit and he had yet to tell Al Gore and Madeleine Albright about his defection to the services of the Malthusian mogul from Atlanta. When Gore found out about Wirth's behind-the-scenes job hunting —through Al Kamen's column in the *Washington Post*—he was outraged and demanded Wirth stand down immediately.

This left the administration in a double-bind. It meant Gore would have to go to Kyoto himself and take the heat for the US's feeble position. It also left the Clinton administration without an experienced negotiator at the table, since Wirth's top climate aide, Eileen Claussen, former assistant secretary of state for oceans and the environment, had just left the State Department to pursue a more lucrative career at Alcalde & Fay, one of the Beltway bigtime lobbying houses.

Now Claussen brings her intimate knowledge of the US government's climate and environmental policies and negotiating strategies to a firm that represents some of the nation's most toxic companies, including: Allied Signal, BP, Dow Chemical, Edison Electric Institute, Gulf Oil, International Climate Change Partnership (an industry group), McDonnell Douglas, Mission Energy, National Association of Gas Chlorinators, Northern States Power, and, oddly enough, the US Department of Commerce.

For his part, Tim Wirth has called upon his old friends at National Strategies to help him set up Ted's newest philanthropic venture. National Strategies is a scaled-down version of Alcalde & Fay, operated by former Wirth aides David Aylward and Cary Caton. National Strategies' reputation is scarcely spotless. In fact, at the same time as the Turner Foundation was doling out money to green groups to fight Republican plans to gut federal environmental laws, Aylward and Caton were busy creating Superfund Reform, an insurance company front group aiming to dismantle the nation's most demanding hazardous waste statute.

Albright's Charmed Life

Back when Madeleine Albright was named early last year as Secretary of State and drew fervant plaudits from liberals and conservatives alike, **Counter-Punch** canvassed the view of Albright among the UN ambassadors who had come to know her during her sojourn at UN Plaza. "Lazy, ignorant and stupid" was one of the more polite assessments. Seldom has a judgement turned out to be more on the money. Despite assiduous pr work Albright's tenure thus far at Foggy Bottom has been one of more or less uninterrupted humiliation. A male Secretary of State with Albright's record would surely have been flayed in the press. Against Albright's record, the savagely criticized Warren Christopher looks like Talleyrand.

Firing off carefully scripted one-liners, Albright commenced her new job by speeding from one photo-op to the next, peering with narrowed eyes across the DMZ at North Korea. If she'd only turned around and taken a look at the real threat to US national security, namely, the perilous condition of the South Korean banks in Seoul, she would have done more to earn her keep.

It wasn't long before Albright took her first eager steps toward diplomatic debacle. In an address at Georgetown University, Albright announced that no matter what Saddam Hussein did in the way of dismantling his arsenal, the US embargo on Iraqi oil sales, imposed via the UN, would continue as long as he stayed in power. It was the sort of square-jawed talk the Washington press corps adores. To Saddam it said simply that he had nothing to lose. A few months later he reached out from Baghdad, took hold of Uncle Sam's nose and gave it a solid tweak, say-

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ing that he would no longer countenance US weapons inspectors on the UN team deployed in Iraq.

Bellows of affront and injured dignity arose from Albright and the White House. Aircraft carriers lumbered toward the Gulf at vast expense. Columnists shouted for the head of Saddam Hussein. None of these fearsome threats had the slightest effect. Saddam successfully made his point.

By now egg was dripping from Albright's face. She tottered from one humiliation to the next. On the schedule of the Oslo accord, Israel was meant to quit substantial portions of the West Bank. But of course Israel did nothing of the sort. Albright sped toughly toward the Middle East, to be met once again with resounding failure. Her big moment was to be the regional conference at Doha, in Qatar—the most servile of all the Gulf emirates to US interests. The regional powers stayed away in droves and Albright abruptly flew home, ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, Teheran, one of the "rogue states" targeted by US diplomacy, held an extremely successful economic conference, with no fewer than 28 nations attending, many of them not shy in taking positions of public support for two other "rogue states", Iraq and Libya.

Despite these reverses, Albright continues to lead a relatively charmed life, as the press breathlessly reports the affair between her chief flack, Jamie Rubin, and CNN's Christiane Amanpour. This is what diplomatic reporting has been reduced to.

Nike and Global Warming

As Al Gore packed for his whirlwind trip to Kyoto, a full-page ad appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* that must have warmed the hearts of the folks at the Nuclear Energy Institute. Under the headline, "A Business Climate Challenge: America Needs to Get Serious About Climate Change", 60 corporate executives, led by Nike, Mitsubishi, CalEnergy, Pacific Energy, and Mitchell Energy, endorsed the need for a strong climate change treaty. The ad was also signed by Enron and Bechtel, two companies with interests in nuclear power. The companies had been rounded up by three environmental groups, World Wildlife Fund, Ozone Action and NRDC. "The idea for this really came from the Clinton administration," Brandon MacGillis tells **CounterPunch**. "They said if we wanted to see a good treaty we needed to show that property owners and Republican business leaders cared about global warming."

Using a grant from the Ford Foundation, money from Ozone Action and contributions from Nike and Mitchell Energy, the groups began asking corporate leaders to sign on the ad. "We asked everyone we could think of," MacGillis says. MacGillis admits that the environmental reputation of the companies wasn't a factor. "Sure some wanted onto the ad purely for economic or pr reasons," MacGillis says. "But other companies really think they can make a difference. Nike, for example, believes that by improving air quality in its factories it can increase productivity." This is a newsworthy admission. Up till now, Nike has ceaselessly claimed it has no control over the operations of its Asian factories.

Columbia Healthcare sent Medicare the $28,000 bill for its Humanitarian Awards program.

How Low Has Al Gore Sunk?

Pretty far, if we go by Al's own evident desperation, which had him claiming in mid-December that he and Tipper were the models for *Love Story*. All in all, it was a very bad year for Al, scarcely enhanced by the *New Yorker* piece on him by Joe Klein, who dutifully swallowed Gore's continued proffering of the "global numbing" defense. In the summer of 1996, **CounterPunch** disclosed that whereas (a) Gore had vigorously exploited his sister's death from cancer, declaring how it had made him into a sworn foe of the tobacco industry, (b) Gore had continued for years to take money from, and do favors for, the tobacco industry. Confronted with this behavior at the Democratic National Convention, Gore ascribed his conduct to psychic "numbing". Distraught with grief at his sister's passing, Gore claimed, he had required several years to dispel this same "numbing" that prevented him from understanding that a pledge not to take money from the tobacco industry meant that he should not bank their checks.

Klein asked Gore about the numbing thing and Gore made a show of indignation, confiding to Klein how he had fought for labeling on cigarette packs. If Klein had read **CounterPunch** he could have disclosed to his readers that Gore pushed for the mildest form of warning, as a successful last ditch effort to head off much tougher labeling—a death warning covering the whole side of a cigarette pack—being urged by Rep. Henry Waxman of California.

And the Winner Is...

We're pleased to inform **CounterPunch** readers that the private hospital company Columbia/HCA Healthcare is now accepting nominations for the 1997 Frist Humanitarian Awards, which are made "in recognition of the efforts and achievements" of company co-founder Dr. Thomas Frist, Sr. According to the nomination ballot, the nominee should be a company employee who "has demonstrated remarkable concern for the welfare and happiness of patients and has performed extraordinary acts of kindness".

Some might see a certain irony here. Columbia, as we noted in our last issue, is the company which is currently fighting off charges of fraud brought by the federal government. Marc Gardner, a former executive at Columbia, has told federal investigators that he "committed felonies every day". Furthermore, Columbia a few years ago tried to bill Medicare $28,000 for the entire cost of its Humanitarian Awards program.

However, we like to be open-minded here at **CounterPunch.** In that spirit, we propose that Columbia inaugurate the Jack Kevorkian Death Award. The first winner be the doctor at Columbia's Las Vegas unit who evicted a man from its emergency room after diagnosing him with "acute homelessness", only to have the man die on the hospital's lawn.

And Bill?

Clinton hasn't so much downfallen as entered a Cheshire Cat-like phase of gradual disappearance. Each time we look, there seems to be less and less of him. Once there was a man one could get angry about, and thus, by inference, take seriously. These days he's the chap at the other end of the dog lead from Buddy. ■

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Saro-Wiwa Died For Their Sins

Big Oil Lobbies the Hill for Nigeria

When Nigeria's dictatorship executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other human rights activists in 1995, Washington rang with calls for tough action against the regime of Gen. Sani Abacha. More than two years later, the Clinton administration has only imposed token sanctions.

The chief reason for the administration's inaction is that U.S. oil companies with investments in Nigeria have spent lavishly to oppose sanctions against the Abacha regime. Here at **Counter-Punch** we have gathered materials that oil company lobbyists are passing around the Hill, including a report produced by Mobil which states forthrightly that "US companies have a substantial and long-term interest in the stability" of Nigeria and warns that a deterioration of ties between the two countries could devastate the American economy.

Abacha's first move after killing Saro-Wiwa was to sign up a number of US lobby and PR shops to ensure that his regime would not be unduly inconvenienced by Washington. Abacha, who seized power after annulling 1993 elections won by opposition leader Moshood Abiola, was especially concerned about the situation in Congress, where Rep. Donald Payne of the Black Caucus has been the leading critic of his regime.

Abacha has spent about $10 million dollars to lobby US administration officials and congressional leaders. A Beltway firm called C/R International cashed in on Saro Wiwa's murder by signing a $390,000 deal with Base Petroleum, a company reportedly owned by a son of General Abacha. C/R's mission was to sabotage sanctions on Nigeria's oil industry . Just last September, Nigeria signed up the firm of Ruder Finn, at a cost of $100,000, to plot strategy on improving Nigeria's image in the US media. (Ruder Finn's hiring came just a month after Nigerian police busted up a reception for human rights and social activists hosted by departing US ambassador Walter Carrington.)

Abacha's lobbying effort has been greatly aided by US oil companies, especially Amoco, Chevron and Mobil. The latter alone has more than half a billion dollars at stake in Nigeria, where it produces 200,000 barrels of petroleum a day. (Shell has even bigger investments in Nigeria, including a $4 billion natural gas joint venture with the military regime.)

Oil company lobbyists have been regularly dropping by congressional offices to make sure that nothing is afoot that could jeopardize their investments. Mobil's man passes out a glossy brochure that whitewashes Gen. Abacha's hideous human rights record. The only references the brochure makes to the ongoing turmoil in Nigeria are vague statements about an "unsettled political situation" and the comment that Nigeria "has been going through difficult times".

The oil lobby claims that a ban on import of Nigerian crude will disrupt the US economy and cause 'higher levels of pollution'.

Needless to say, Mobil is all in favor of "reform and progress in Nigeria". However, so the lobbying brochure proclaims, "we do not believe that cutting off relations or instituting trade sanctions or boycotts will achieve the desired result. In fact, such actions could cause Nigerians to resist and resent what may be seen as unfair meddling in the country's political development by outsiders." The brochure ends by quoting a number of Nigerians who laud Mobil's work in their country. Heading up the list of these supposedly objective observers is Dr. Abdul Oyekan of Nigeria's Federal Minister of Petroleum Reserves.

The oil companies are also working through the Corporate Council on Africa, which musters about 100 big firms with investments in Africa, including Mobil, General Motors and Coca-Cola. The Council was founded in 1992 by a group of business tycoons and former government officials that include Chester Crocker, assistant secretary of state for Africa during the Reagan years, and Andrew Young, currently Nike's apologist and flack. The group's executive director is David Miller, who worked in the Bush White House and also served in a top position at the Overseas Private Investment Council (OPIC), which subsidizes U.S. business deals abroad.

Amoco, Chevron, Conoco and Mobil have each funneled at least $40,000 to the Council during the past few years. Though it claims to be an apolitical organization that does not seek to "influence any position or policy of the US government", the Council sits squarely in the anti-sanctions camp.

After pocketing the oil companies' dough, the Council set up a "Nigeria Working Group" to coordinate its posture towards the Abacha regime. A congressional staffer has passed us lobbying materials produced by the Working Group, including a report —which features photos of smiling Nigerian children and virtuous industrial activity—titled *The Economic Dimension: The United States of America and Nigeria.* The Council's report touches briefly on human rights violations in Nigeria, but swiftly makes clear that next to the economic issues at stake such matters are of trifling concern.

"Not only is Nigeria the source of approximately 9 percent of US oil imports, but it also represents an annual market of over $1 billion for American goods and services," the brochure reads. "U.S. companies are well positioned to compete for and win major new opportunities as Nigeria proceeds with a $3-5 billion effort to rehabilitate and privatize its telecommunications and power sectors."

Some **CounterPunch** readers may recall that we ran a story in 1996 mentioning that Nigeria produces an extremely pure crude oil called "Bonney Light". The Council's brochure devotes an entire page to the superb qualities of Nigerian crude, saying it is "highly sought after and sells at a premium on the spot market". According to the Council, "any disruption to this supply of imported petroleum will severely impact the American economy" and even lead to "higher levels of pollution" as Nigerian oil is replaced by imported petroleum with a higher sulfur content. ■

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Princeton Prof Denies Genocide

Bernard Lewis & the Armenians

For America's foremost denier of the Armenian genocide it has come as a nasty shock. If there was one appointment which Bernard Lewis, famed orientalist and professor emeritus of Near East Studies at Princeton University, thought he would get without objection, it was that of honorary citizen of Tel Aviv. But once the Tel Aviv councillors learned that a French court in 1995 had found Lewis guilty of denying that the slaughter of one million Armenians in 1915 was organised by the Turkish government, support for the Princeton professor melted away. Mayor Roni Milo, realising that Lewis's nomination was going to fail, withdrew his name.

There has never been any historical doubt that the Turkish government tried to exterminate its Armenian population in the first years of World War I. Hans Wangenheim, the German ambassador of the day, whose government was the principle ally of Turkey, reported in a confidential cable to Berlin that the Turkish government "is really pursuing the aim of destroying the Armenian race".

Despite this, Lewis and a band of pro-Turkish academics maintain that there was no extermination campaign but "the deportation and relocation of the Armenian population". Lewis admits that one million may have died but says that this was because "the task of escorting the deportees was entrusted to hastily recruited local posses". He says the Armenians were sympathetic to invading Russian troops—scarcely surprising since 200,000 had been killed in earlier massacres. Above all, Lewis maintains in his standard work on Middle East history, the Turkish government "seems to have made some effort to curb these excesses".

All this is relevant to what the US and Israel do in the Middle East today because the Turkish government has always made denial of the Armenian genocide a test for potential allies. Israel's nominee to be its envoy to Ankara—the most important ambassadorial post for Israel after Washington and Moscow—has been Professor Ehud Toledano, a specialist in Ottoman history. But ever since he was nominated in June, Turkey has refused to accredit him because, fifteen years ago, he appeared on an Israeli army radio program entitled "The Armenia Genocide".

Toledano has said that he appeared on the program only to give the Turkish case: "I never researched or investigated the period of the First World War. I never questioned the Turkish version of events." Even this abject defence failed to save him. Nominated by the Israeli cabinet on June 8, it rapidly became clear that the Turks would not accept him.

By the end of August, the Turkish Foreign Ministry was already leaking through its semi-official news agency that difficulties had arisen.

This put Israel in a quandary. As the Oslo Accords collapse and relations between Israel and the Arabs deteriorate, Washington has pushed Turkey into ever closer relations with Tel Aviv. Israeli, Turkish and American naval vessels are to conduct joint exercises in the Mediterranean in January.

Israel is also hoping for big weapons sales to the Turkish army. There has been a procession of senior Israeli army officers to Ankara this year to persuade the government to buy the Israeli Merkava 111 as its main battle tank and the Galil assault rifle for its infantry.

All this created an angry reaction in Israel. Dr. Yair Auron, a distinquished specialist on the Armenian genocide, compares the saga of the Toledano appointment to a European state which had appointed an ambassador to Germany and the Germans rejected it "claiming that 30 years ago he mentioned on the radio that Nazi Germany had carried out a holocaust of the Jews".

So far the Turkish government has had an extraordinary measure of success in the US and Israel in its campaign to deny that there was an Armenian genocide. In 1985, Bernard Lewis led 66 other signatories in a petition to Congress opposing a national commemoration day for the Armenians. In 1993, he told the French daily *Le Monde* that the Armenian genocide was simply the Armenian version of what had happened. Lewis was sued by representatives of the Armenian community and the French courts fined him a symbolic one franc.

In Washington in 1983, the Institute of Turkish Studies had already been established as the nerve center for Turkish academic propaganda. American universities—notably Princeton—proved receptive to Turkish largesse.

In 1993, Princeton accepted $750,000 from the Turkish government to set up a new Ataturk chair of Turkish studies at the Department of Near East Studies. It hired a Professor Heath Lowry, who had worked as chief executive to the Institute. Professor Lowry actively denied that there was such a thing as the Armenian genocide.

Professor Lowry's exact relathionship to the Turkish government was unmasked because in 1990 Nuzhet Kandhemir, the Turkish ambassador to Washington, sent a letter to an academic criticizing him for referring to the Armenian genocide.

Unfortunately for him he accidentally enclosed with his official letter a draft by Professor Lowry suggesting what the ambassador should say. "I was not a professor at Princeton when I wrote that," Professor Lowry told the *New York Times*. "Looking back from where I am today, I goofed." ■

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internal probe was initially confined to the allegations made by Webb, but was then widened to take in any references to drug connections in the CIA's files. Also launched in the fall of 1996 was a Justice Department review of Webb's charges. Deutch initially pledged that the CIA report would be finished and released to the public by the end of December 1996. Sixteen months went by.

Then, on December 18, 1997 came stories in the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Jose Mercury News* under headlines such as "CIA Clears Itself In Crack Investigation". CNN picked up the *Mercury News*'s story immediately, telling viewers that the very paper that had made the initial charges against the CIA was now reporting that "an investigation" had absolved the Agency.

But where was the CIA's report which had prompted the stories in the *LA Times* and *Mercury News*? Unavailable. Reason? It depends who one called. The stories in the *LA Times* and *Mercury News* about the mysterious report were filed on Wednesday, December 17 and appeared in print the next day. Then, on Thursday, the Justice Department announced its view that public release of the CIA report would damage current criminal investigations. Call the CIA and one was told by the Agency's press department that the CIA now wants to wait until mid-January, when the second part of the IG's report will supposedly be finished. Later that Thursday the Justice Department stated that it would edit the CIA's and its own probes to purge them of any material that might be compromising.

In other words, one was being asked to believe that after sixteen months the CIA and Justice Department had somehow, entirely by accident. contrived a news "event" which gave the CIA exoneration in major headlines, without providing any evidence to buttress such a conclusion. Imagine the fury that would have been unleashed if poor Webb had written a news story thus shorn of any documentary substantiation.

Friday, December 19, brought stories in the *New York Times* by Tim Weiner and in the *Washington Post*, by Walter Pincus, who had started the whole press onslaught on Webb in the fall of 1996. Weiner's story ran under the headline "CIA Says It Has Found No Link Between Itself and Crack Trade". Weiner quoted no named sources and relied entirely on our old friend, "a government official who would not allow his name to be used". Pincus quoted three anonymous officials who claimed that the CIA report shows "no direct or indirect link" between the CIA and cocaine traffickers.

Just how thorough has been the CIA's much touted probe of itself? We don't have the report at hand, but indications are that the investigation was far from fierce. The Inspector General had no subpoena power. The CIA's former chief officer in Central America, Dewey Clarridge, now retired and working for General Dynamics, told the *Los Angeles Times* that the CIA "sent me questions that were a bunch of bullshit". Clarridge refused to be interviewed by the CIA's investigators. Clarridge, it should be noted, was a central figure in CIA operations with the Contras, whom he conjured into being from an initial recruitment of Argentinian military torturers, and whose assassination manual he boasts of having written. Other people interviewed by the CIA claim to have been bullied by the Agency's investigators whenever they showed signs of buttressing Webb. As for the author of the stories, Gary Webb? He was never interviewed.

But with Webb we get to the heart of the dust storm. On Saturday December 13 the *San Jose Mercury News* announced that Gary Webb had resigned from the paper after reaching a settlement on a grievance he had filed about his transfer from Sacramento to Cupertino. In the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* Webb's departure from the *Mercury News* was flagged, with the implication that somehow it offered further evidence of the conclusiveness of the CIA's self-examination.

So it looks as though the Agency took the opportunity of Webb's departure to leak a self-serving press release about its conduct, eagerly seized up by the papers who had been after Webb, and by the *Mercury News* which was shamefully terrorized into betraying a fine reporter. As for the January release, don't hold your breath. This is not the first CIA Inspector General's report that's been laggard in appearing. In 1988 the Agency conducted an IG's report on Contra-CIA drug running. We're still waiting. In 1973 the Agency promised an IG report on CIA relations with opium smuggling in Southeast Asia (this was after McCoy's book raised a storm and was duly denounced in the mainstream press). We're still waiting for full publication of that one. In 1953 and in 1963 the Agency undertook self-examinations of its role in drug experimentation, with reference to LSD. We're still waiting for complete disclosure of those reports as well. ■

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JOURNALISM FOR GROWN UPS

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